

# DOWNLOAD PDF DEFENCE OF OPPOSITION WITH RESPECT TO THEIR CONDUCT ON IRISH AFFAIRS

## Chapter 1 : Edmund Burke - Wikipedia

*This item: Defence of opposition with respect to their conduct on Irish affairs, with explanatory notes. By an Irish gentleman, a member of the Whig Club. By an Irish gentleman, a member of the Whig Club.*

History[ edit ] The use of natural law, in its various incarnations, has varied widely throughout history. There are a number of theories of natural law, that differ from each other with respect to the role that morality plays in determining the authority of legal norms. This article deals with its usages separately rather than attempt to unify them into a single theory. Abraham even dares to tell the Most High that his plan to destroy the city Genesis In this respect, natural law as described in the interaction between Abraham and God predates the later Greek exposition of it by Plato, Socrates and Aristotle. However, an even earlier set of laws is attributed to the Seven Laws of Noah. The seven Noahide laws as traditionally enumerated are the following: To establish courts of justice. Not to commit murder. Not to commit adultery or sexual immorality. Not to eat flesh torn from a living animal. According to this, all modern humans are descendants of Noah, thus the name Noahide Laws in reference to laws that apply to all of humanity. After the flood, God sealed a covenant with Noah with the following admonitions Genesis 9: Flesh of a living animal: Please improve it by verifying the claims made and adding inline citations. Statements consisting only of original research should be removed. What the law commanded would be expected to vary from place to place, but what was "by nature" should be the same everywhere. A "law of nature" would therefore have the flavor more of a paradox than something that obviously existed. Of these, Aristotle is often said to be the father of natural law. Universal law is the law of Nature. For there really is, as every one to some extent divines, a natural justice and injustice that is binding on all men, even on those who have no association or covenant with each other. Stoic natural law[ edit ] The development of this tradition of natural justice into one of natural law is usually attributed to the Stoics. The rise of natural law as a universal system coincided with the rise of large empires and kingdoms in the Greek world. There is no change in political theory so startling in its completeness as the change from the theory of Aristotle to the later philosophical view represented by Cicero and Seneca We think that this cannot be better exemplified than with regard to the theory of the equality of human nature. McIlwain likewise observes that "the idea of the equality of men is the most profound contribution of the Stoics to political thought" and that "its greatest influence is in the changed conception of law that in part resulted from it. According to this belief, within humans there is a "divine spark" which helps them to live in accordance with nature. The stoics felt that there was a way in which the universe had been designed, and that natural law helped us to harmonise with this. Marcus Tullius Cicero Cicero wrote in his De Legibus that both justice and law originate from what nature has given to humanity, from what the human mind embraces, from the function of humanity, and from what serves to unite humanity. Commanding us to do what is right, forbidding us to do what is wrong. It has dominion over good men, but possesses no influence over bad ones. No other law can be substituted for it, no part of it can be taken away, nor can it be abrogated altogether. Neither the people or the senate can absolve from it. It is not one thing at Rome, and another thing at Athens: The jurisprudence of the Roman Empire was rooted in Cicero, who held "an extraordinary grip Which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another. In the twelfth century, Gratian equated the natural law with divine law. Albertus Magnus would address the subject a century later, and his pupil, St. See also Biblical law in Christianity. Meanwhile, Aquinas taught that all human or positive laws were to be judged by their conformity to the natural law. An unjust law is not a law, in the full sense of the word. This principle laid the seed for possible societal tension with reference to tyrants. For Christians, natural law is how human beings manifest the divine image in their life. Thus, whereas deontological systems merely require certain duties be performed, Christianity explicitly states that no one can, in fact, perform any duties if grace is lacking. Living the natural law is how humanity displays the gifts of life and grace, the gifts of all that is good. The apparent good or evil consequence resulting from the moral act

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is not relevant to the act itself. Insofar as one lives the natural law, temporal satisfaction may or may not be attained, but salvation will be attained. The state, in being bound by the natural law, is conceived as an institution whose purpose is to assist in bringing its subjects to true happiness. True happiness derives from living in harmony with the mind of God as an image of the living God. After the Protestant Reformation, some Protestant denominations maintained parts of the Catholic concept of natural law. The English theologian Richard Hooker from the Church of England adapted Thomistic notions of natural law to Anglicanism five principles: He argued that the antagonism between human beings can only be overcome through a divine law, which he believed to have been sent through prophets. This is also the position of the Ashari school, the largest school of Sunni theology. The concept of natural law entered the mainstream of Western culture through his Aristotelian commentaries, influencing the subsequent Averroist movement and the writings of Thomas Aquinas. The concept of Istislah in Islamic law bears some similarities to the natural law tradition in the West, as exemplified by Thomas Aquinas. However, whereas natural law deems good what is self-evidently good, according as it tends towards the fulfilment of the person, istislah calls good whatever is connected to one of five "basic goods". Some add also "honour". This is a concept predating European legal theory, and reflects a type of law that is universal and may be determined by reason and observation of natural action. Neil McLeod identifies concepts that law must accord with: These two terms occur frequently, though Irish law never strictly defines them. These were two very real concepts to the jurists and the value of a given judgment with respect to them was apparently ascertainable. Although under the law any third person could fulfill the duty if both parties agreed, and both were sane.

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### Chapter 2 : Mnangagwa must walk the talk on opposition - The Zimbabwe Independent

*The commercial resolutions of the Irish Parliament, in their present session, vindicated: to which is added an authentic copy of the resolutions--A short view of the proposals lately made for the final adjustment of the commercial system between Great-Britain and Ireland--The arrangements with Ireland considered.*

There are mounting indications that the intensifying campaign by the Israel lobby in the UK against Jeremy Corbyn, the leader of the parliamentary opposition, is starting to have precisely such self-harming repercussions. Of late, Corbyn himself has become the chief target of such allegations. Last week the Daily Mail led a media mauling of Corbyn over disparaging comments he made in about a small group of pro-Israel zealots who had come to disrupt a Palestinian solidarity meeting. Mounting evidence in both the UK and the US, where there has been a similar escalation of attacks on pro-Palestinian activists, often related to the international boycott movement BDS, suggests that the Israeli government is taking a significant, if covert, role in coordinating and directing such efforts to sully the reputation of prominent critics. Only the UK series has been aired so far. The latter includes some 80 Labour MPs. This week Alain Gresh, the former editor of *Le Monde diplomatique*, published significant quotes from that censored documentary after viewing it secretly in Dubai. According to Gresh, senior members of the lobby are caught on camera admitting that they have built up a network of spies to gather information on prominent critics of Israel. Then being pro-Israel becomes less a bipartisan issue, and then every time the White House changes, the policies towards Israel change. That becomes a dangerous thing for Israel. More than a decade ago scholars John Mearsheimer and Steven Walt wrote a book examining the composition and role of the powerful pro-Israel lobby in the US. But until the broadcasting of the Al-Jazeera documentary last year no comparable effort had been made to shine a light on the situation in the UK. In fact, there was almost no discussion or even acknowledgement of the role of an Israel lobby in British public and political life. That is changing rapidly. Through its constant attacks on Corbyn, British activists are looking less like disparate individuals sympathetic to Israel and more recognisably like a US-style lobby – highly organised, on-message and all too ready to throw their weight around. The lobby was always there, of course. The earliest Zionists That should not surprise us. The earliest Zionists were not Jews but fundamentalist Christians. In the US, the largest group of Zionists by far are Christian evangelicals who believe that the return of Jews to the Promised Land is the key to unlocking the second coming of the Messiah and an apocalyptic end-times. Though embraced by Israel, many of these Christian fundamentalists hold anti-Semitic views. In Britain, there is an unacknowledged legacy of anti-Semitic Christian support for Zionism. Lord Balfour, a devout Christian who regularly voiced bigotry towards Jews, was also the man who committed the British government in to create a home for Jews in Palestine. In addition, many British gentiles, like other Europeans, live with understandable guilt about the Holocaust. Dozens of Labour MPs have remained loyal to LFI even as the organisation has repeatedly refused to criticise Israel over undeniable war crimes. After facing a massive backlash, the LFI simply deleted the tweet. A double whammy Historically the Israel lobby could remain relatively low-profile in the UK because it faced few challenges. No British leader looked likely to step far from the Washington consensus. The Israel lobby in the UK now faces a double whammy. Instead, Israel has isolated the Palestinian leadership diplomatically while seeking to terrorise the Palestinian population into absolute submission. That was all too clear over the summer when those Israeli snipers picked off demonstrators each week in Gaza. As a result, the Israel lobby stands more exposed than ever. It can no longer buy time for Israeli expansionism by credibly claiming, as it once did, that Israel seeks peace. The use of social media by his supporters, meanwhile, has provided a counter-weight to the vilification campaign being amplified by the British media. The media have been only too willing to assist in the smearing of the Labour leader because they have their own separate interests in seeing Corbyn gone. He is a threat to the corporate business interests they represent. But not only has the messenger – the Israel lobby – now come under proper scrutiny for the first time, so has its

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message. English Irony The success of the lobby had depended not only on it remaining largely out of view. It also expected to shore up a largely pro-Israel environment without drawing attention to what was being advocated, beyond unquestioned soundbites. The campaign against Corbyn has not only forced the lobby to come out into the open, but the backlash to its campaign has forced the lobby to articulate for the first time what exactly it believes and what is at stake. The latest furore over Corbyn concerns a Youtube video of him speaking at a pro-Palestinian meeting in , two years before he became Labour leader. He has been widely denounced in the media for making disparaging remarks about a small group of hardline pro-Israel partisans well-known for disrupting such meetings. This, they say, was yet further evidence of his anti-semitism. In that notorious speech, the right-wing politician sought to incite race hatred of immigrants. He conflated a religious or ethnic category with a political ideology. Others have pointed out that his accusers “ many of them senior journalists “ are the ones lacking a sense of irony. The argument goes something like this: Israel is the only safe haven for Jews in times of trouble “ and the only thing that stands between them and a future Holocaust. The movement that created Israel was the Zionist movement. Today most Jews are Zionists and believe Israel is at the core of their identity. Therefore, if you are too critical of Israel or Zionism, you must wish bad things for the Jewish people. That makes you an anti-Semite. The first is that it depends on a worldview in which the non-Jew is assumed to be anti-Semite until proven otherwise. That is exactly the lesson of the Holocaust taught to children in Israel from kindergarten onwards. Israel derives no universal message from the Holocaust. Its schools do not teach that we must avoid stigmatising others, and discourage sectarian and tribal indentifications that fuel prejudice and bigotry. In Israel, the Holocaust supplies a different lesson. It teaches that Jews are under permanent threat from non-Jews and that their only defence is to seek collective protection in a highly militarised state, armed with nuclear weapons. This idea was encapsulated in the famous saying by the late Israeli general Moshe Dayan: In it, he argued that anti-Semitism was a virus that could lie dormant for periods but would always find new ways to reinfect its hosts. Through mutation, the new anti-Semitism had concealed its hatred of Jews by appearing to focus on Israel and dressing itself up in left-wing garb. That, she hoped, would prepare her child for eventualities such as Corbyn becoming prime minister. Paradoxically, the new anti-Semitism turns the tables by legitimising “ in fact, necessitating “ Jewish racism towards gentiles. Rather than Corbyn stigmatising Jews “ except in some feverish imaginations “ it is the pro-Israel lobby stigmatising non-Jews, by claiming that they are all tainted by Jew hatred, whether they know it or not. The idea of a harm-free Zionism might have been credible had it been possible to establish a Jewish state on an empty piece of land, as the early Zionists claimed Palestine to be. In reality, there was a large native population who had to be displaced first. Then, it needed to deny the small surviving community of Palestinians inside Israel the same rights as Israeli Jews, to ghettoise them and stop them from bringing their expelled relatives back to their homes. They were absolutely essential to the success of a Zionist project to create and maintain a Jewish state. That has been changing, in part because it has become much harder to conceal what kind of state Israel is. That price was paid by Palestinians, and there has yet been no historical reckoning over their suffering. By veiling the historical record, Israel and the Zionist movement have avoided the kind of truth and reconciliation process that led to the ending of apartheid in South Africa. Asked by the New Statesman what he thinks of the new Nation-State Basic Law, the normally erudite Sacks suddenly becomes lost for words. He asks a friend, or in his case his brother, for the answer: Similarly, he is blind to the history of Zionism and the mass dispossession of Palestinians in the Nakba. He tells the New Statesman: He berated Sacks for equating anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism: Thus, it does to Palestinians what anti-Semitism does to Jews. Instead, Corbyn is being vilified by a wide spectrum of supposedly informed opinion in the UK “ Jewish and non-Jewish alike “ for standing in solidarity with Palestinians. That is, remember, the Palestinian people who have been the victims of more than a century of collusion between European colonialism and Zionism, and today are still being oppressed by an anachronistic ethnic state, Israel, determined to privilege its Jewishness at all costs. The lobby and its supporters are not just seeking to silence Corbyn. They also intend to silence the Palestinians and the growing ranks of people who

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choose to stand in solidarity with the Palestinians. But while the lobby may be winning on its own limited terms in harming Corbyn in mainstream discourse, deeper processes are exposing and weakening the lobby. It is overplaying its hand. A strong lobby is one that is largely invisible, one that “like the financial and arms industries” has no need to flex its muscles. In making so much noise to damage Corbyn, the Israel lobby is also for the first time being forced to bring out into the open the racist premises that always underpinned its arguments. Over time, that exposure is going to harm, not benefit, the apologists for Israel.

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## Chapter 3 : Defence of Opposition With Respect to Their Conduct on Irish Affairs

[iv] *The Cdiijlency of your conduSl, in the h'neof politics, gives at once, the flatted contiadiclion tofoimpudent and bare faced acalurny. The following fheets, however, willeffe 6luually.*

Early life[ edit ] Burke was born in Dublin , Ireland. Omer , near Calais , France, and of harbouring secret Catholic sympathies at a time when membership of the Catholic Church would disqualify him from public office see Penal Laws in Ireland. As Burke told Frances Crewe: Omerâ€™”but this was false, as his father was a regular practitioner of the Law at Dublin, which he could not be unless of the Established Church: Bâ€™”was twice at Paris, he never happened to go through the Town of St. According to the historian J. In , Burke started at Trinity College Dublin , a Protestant establishment , which up until , did not permit Catholics to take degrees. Burke graduated from Trinity in After eschewing the Law, he pursued a livelihood through writing. Lord Chesterfield and Bishop Warburton and others initially thought that the work was genuinely by Bolingbroke rather than a satire. Some reviewers failed to notice the ironic nature of the book, which led to Burke stating in the preface to the second edition that it was a satire. It was his only purely philosophical work, and when asked by Sir Joshua Reynolds and French Laurence to expand it thirty years later, Burke replied that he was no longer fit for abstract speculation Burke had written it before he was nineteen years of age. It was to be submitted for publication by Christmas Their son Richard was born on 9 February ; an elder son, Christopher, died in infancy. Burke also helped raise a ward , Edmund Nagle later Admiral Sir Edmund Nagle , the son of a maternal cousin orphaned in When Hamilton was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland , Burke accompanied him to Dublin as his private secretary , a position he held for three years. Rockingham also introduced Burke as a Freemason. After Burke delivered his maiden speech , William Pitt the Elder said he had "spoken in such a manner as to stop the mouths of all Europe" and that the Commons should congratulate itself on acquiring such a Member. Surveying the finances of France, Burke predicts "some extraordinary convulsion in that whole system". Although the estate included saleable assets such as art works by Titian , Gregories proved a heavy financial burden in the following decades and Burke was never able to repay its purchase price in full. His speeches and writings, having made him famous, led to the suggestion that he was the author of the Letters of Junius. At about this time, Burke joined the circle of leading intellectuals and artists in London of whom Samuel Johnson was the central luminary. He argued strongly against unrestrained royal power and for the role of political parties in maintaining a principled opposition capable of preventing abuses, either by the monarch, or by specific factions within the government. His most important publication in this regard was his Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents of 23 April Party divisions "whether operating for good or evil, are things inseparable from free government". Burke spoke in favour of the Bill but it was opposed by some, including Charles James Fox thus not becoming law. He saw it as "the first very great breach in the modern political system of Europe" and as upsetting the balance of power in Europe. The platform on which he was elected included the Speech to the Electors of Bristol, [53] a remarkable disclaimer of the constituent-imperative form of democracy, for which he substituted his statement of the "representative mandate" form. His constituents, citizens of the great trading city of Bristol, however urged Burke to oppose free trade with Ireland. Burke resisted their protestations and said: On 19 April Burke made a speech, " On American Taxation " published in January , on a motion to repeal the tea duty: Again and again, revert to your old principlesâ€™”seek peace and ensue it; leave America, if she has taxable matter in her, to tax herself. I am not here going into the distinctions of rights, nor attempting to mark their boundaries. I do not enter into these metaphysical distinctions; I hate the very sound of them. Leave the Americans as they anciently stood, and these distinctions, born of our unhappy contest, will die along with it Be content to bind America by laws of trade; you have always done it Do not burthen them with taxes But if intemperately, unwisely, fatally, you sophisticate and poison the very source of government by urging subtle deductions, and consequences odious to those you govern, from the unlimited and illimitable nature of supreme sovereignty,

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you will teach them by these means to call that sovereignty itself in question If that sovereignty and their freedom cannot be reconciled, which will they take? They will cast your sovereignty in your face. No body of men will be argued into slavery. He warned against the notion that the Americans would back down in the face of force, since most Americans were of British descent: They are therefore not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas and on English principles. The people are Protestants My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your governmentâ€”they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing and their privileges another, that these two things may exist without any mutual relationâ€”the cement is gone, the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain, they may have it from Prussia. But, until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. The proposition is peace. Not peace through the medium of war, not peace to be hunted through the labyrinth of intricate and endless negotiations, not peace to arise out of universal discord It is peace sought in the spirit of peace, and laid in principles purely pacific. He laid out his objections in an orderly manner, focusing on one before moving to the next. His first concern was that the use of force would have to be temporary, and that the uprisings and objections to British governance in Colonial America would not be. Second, Burke worried about the uncertainty surrounding whether Britain would win a conflict in America. The American colonists could always retreat into the mountains, but the land they left behind would most likely be unusable, whether by accident or design. The fourth and final reason to avoid the use of force was experience; the British had never attempted to rein in an unruly colony by force, and they did not know if it could be done, let alone accomplished thousands of miles away from home. It was not temporary force, uncertainty, impairment, or even experience that Burke cited as the number one reason for avoiding war with the American colonies, however; it was the character of the American people themselves: Allow the American colonists to elect their own representatives, thus settling the dispute about taxation without representation; Acknowledge this wrongdoing and apologise for grievances caused; Procure an efficient manner of choosing and sending these delegates; Set up a General Assembly in America itself, with powers to regulate taxes; Stop gathering taxes by imposition or law , and start gathering them only when they are needed; and Grant needed aid to the colonies. Unfortunately, Burke delivered this speech just less than a month before the explosive conflict at Concord and Lexington, [62] and as these resolutions were not enacted, little was done that would help to dissuade conflict. Among the reasons this speech was so greatly admired was its passage on Lord Bathurst â€” ; Burke describes an angel in prophesying to Bathurst the future greatness of England and also of America: British and American forces clashed in and, in , came the American Declaration of Independence. Burke was appalled by celebrations in Britain of the defeat of the Americans at New York and Pennsylvania. He claimed the English national character was being changed by this authoritarianism. I am satisfied, that within a few years there has been a great Change in the National Character. We seem no longer that eager, inquisitive, jealous, fiery people, which we have been formerly". Still less do I wish success to injustice, oppression and absurdity". The fall of North led to Rockingham being recalled to power in March The Paymaster General Act ended the post as a lucrative sinecure. Previously, Paymasters had been able to draw on money from HM Treasury at their discretion. Now they were required to put the money they had requested to withdraw from the Treasury into the Bank of England, from where it was to be withdrawn for specific purposes. He managed, however, to abolish offices in the royal household and

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civil administration. That coalition fell in , and was succeeded by the long Tory administration of William Pitt the Younger , which lasted until . Accordingly, having supported Fox and North, Burke was in opposition for the remainder of his political life. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion, high respect; their business, unremitting attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions, to theirs; and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion. These interests are largely economic or associated with particular localities whose livelihood they characterize, in his over-all prosperity they involve. While admitting that theoretically, in some cases it might be desirable, he insisted a democratic government in Britain in his day would not only be inept, but also oppressive. He opposed democracy for three basic reasons. First, government required a degree of intelligence and breadth of knowledge of the sort that occurred rarely among the common people. Second, he thought that if they had the vote, common people had dangerous and angry passions that could be aroused easily by demagogues; he feared that the authoritarian impulses that could be empowered by these passions would undermine cherished traditions and established religion, leading to violence and confiscation of property. Third, Burke warned that democracy would create a tyranny over unpopular minorities , who needed the protection of the upper classes. Impeachment of Warren Hastings For years Burke pursued impeachment efforts against Warren Hastings , formerly Governor-General of Bengal, that resulted in the trial during . For two decades prior to the impeachment, Parliament had dealt with the Indian issue. This trial was the pinnacle of years of unrest and deliberation. This committee was charged "to investigate alleged injustices in Bengal, the war with Hyder Ali, and other Indian difficulties". Both committee reports were written by Burke. Among other purposes, the reports conveyed to the Indian princes that Britain would not wage war on them, along with demanding that the East India Company should recall Hastings. In the province of the Carnatic the Indians had constructed a system of reservoirs to make the soil fertile in a naturally dry region, and centred their society on the husbandry of water: These are the monuments of real kings, who were the fathers of their people; testators to a posterity which they embraced as their own.

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## Chapter 4 : Natural law - Wikipedia

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For Zimbabwe to achieve true democracy, the opposition must hold the government to account, he wrote. Perhaps Mnangagwa had his Damascene moment and is a born-again democrat. But if that is the case, his words must be matched by his deeds. These are empty words unless he takes active measures to create an environment for a healthy opposition. The law requires public media, which is funded by taxpayers, to treat all parties fairly and impartially. This is an unhealthy tradition which goes back to the Robert Mugabe era and the Ian Smith era before it. If Mnangagwa wants a healthy opposition, he must lead a serious transformation of public media so that it treats the opposition with respect and has the freedom to hold the government to account. Remove repressive legislation In addition, Mnangagwa must get rid of repressive legislation inherited from the Mugabe era. This includes the Public Order and Security Act Posa , which unduly restricts freedoms of assembly and association. No healthy opposition can thrive in such a repressive environment. Selective application of the law One of the hallmarks of the repressive Mugabe era was the selective application of the law. Opposition leaders and their supporters were routinely pursued, arrested and jailed by the state law enforcement machinery. On the other hand, Zanu PF leaders and their supporters were protected, sometimes blatantly so, through amnesties. After the elections, this practice of selectively applying the law against the opposition has started again. Not a single member of the defence forces who shot and killed civilians on August 1 has been arrested. But scores of opposition supporters were arrested. The commission of inquiry appointed by Mnangagwa to investigate the election violence is stuffed by locals who are either partisan or conflicted. He could easily have chosen more impartial and unconnected persons, or balanced it with opposition members. Even before it has started, the outcome of the investigation is unlikely to have the weight, credibility and legitimacy that he wants. Free local governance A third area of reform which would show respect for the opposition is the governance of local authorities. While the opposition dominates urban areas, Zanu PF has never allowed the MDC to govern â€” exercise governance without undue interference. The cities had more autonomy when they had executive mayors. However, once it realised that it had lost political control of Harare and other cities, Zanu PF quickly changed the law and made them ceremonial and powerless. If Mnangagwa is serious about promoting a healthy opposition, he must liberate local authorities from the clutches of central government. This will actually allow the opposition to play an active role in governance through local authorities. Free the state from the party Probably the most important reform, however, is to separate and free the state from the grip of Zanu PF. This creates a parasitic relationship whereby Zanu PF feeds off the state, gaining unfair advantages over the opposition. This is particularly evident during election campaigning which results in an uneven playing field and unfair competition. This unevenness was noted by international election observers in the just-ended elections and contributed to erosion of their legitimacy. Unload baggage from the past Mnangagwa has to deal with legacy issues from the Mugabe era, which continue to stifle the opposition. Victims and survivors of past atrocities remain in limbo. Many of them are opposition supporters. The rural architecture led by traditional chiefs and headmen promotes Zanu PF while closing space for the opposition. Mnangagwa has rewarded more than chiefs with brand new utility vehicles, continuing a tradition passed on from Mugabe and the colonial regime, where chiefs were puppets of the ruling party. Demilitarise the state It will be hard for Mnangagwa to achieve this in the short-term, but he must progressively demilitarise the state. Political scientists have long noted and warned of the dangers of military encroachment into the state-civil affairs. This became more visible after the coup last November, with the direct intervention of the military to settle a party-political question and the lateral movement of senior military personnel into government. That the military has a direct and visible role in the state and civilian politics is no longer a matter of conjecture. However, such a militarised environment does not augur well for

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democracy and a healthy opposition. His problem is that the increasingly powerful military might end up outmuscling him. Listen to observers, make amends Mnangagwa made a positive move when he invited international election observers for the first time since , but now he must listen to their comments. Even the usually friendly African observers were critical of the use of excessive force when the military was deployed in the streets of Harare on August 1 and ended up killing unarmed civilians. Conclusion Mnangagwa has been trying hard to sound like a democrat and maybe he means well, as his supporters claim. But his words are not matched by actual reforms. One of his newly-appointed deputy ministers, Energy Mutodi, does not seem to understand the message that his boss has been trying to project to the world. He had barely settled into office when he started issuing vitriol at the opposition leader, Nelson Chamisa and his MDC party, using language that is inimical to the approach that his leader is keen to promote. Until laws and practices that stifle and frustrate the opposition are removed, all the beautifully-worded ghost-written opinions in international newspapers will mean nothing for democracy and the people of Zimbabwe. What Zimbabwe truly needs is for its new leader to walk the talk. For now, the verdict is that while Mugabe departed office, Mugabeism, the system that he built has remained intact. Old habits die hard, but it is these habits that Mnangagwa must get rid of if the opposition and the world are to take him more seriously.